

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CU-06 BIB-01 ACDA-12 HA-05 CIAE-00

DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-02

INR-07 L-03 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 IO-14

COME-00 EB-08 LAB-04 SIL-01 OMB-01 TRSE-00 /102 W

-----087592 112353Z /15

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FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3468

INFO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE

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FOR EUR/RPM AND EUR/SOV FROM USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: CSCE, OCON

SUBJECT: BELGRADE CSCE--STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG DURING
NOVEMBER 11 PLENARY SESSION

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG'S RIGHT OF REPLY
STATEMENT IN NOVEMBER 11 PLENARY SESSION RESPONDING TO
SOVIET AND CZECH INTERVENTIONS. REPORT ON PLENARY SESSION
TRANSMITTED SEPTTEL.

BEGIN TEXT:

MR. CHAIRMAN:

I WOULD LIKE IN A PRELIMINARY REMARK TO SET THE RECORD
STRAIGHT BECAUSE I WANT TO PROTECT THE REPUTATION OF
A MEMBER OF OUR FOREIGN SERVICE AND OF THE PRESIDENT OF
ONE OF OUR LARGEST UNIONS. IN THE DISTINGUISHED SOVIET
DELEGATE'S REMARKS HE DESCRIBED THE HEAD OF OUR GOVERNMENT
WORKERS UNION AS GEORGE VEST. THIS MIGHT HAVE BEEN A
PROBLEM OF TRANSLATION BUT GEORGE VEST IS ASSISTANT
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EUROPEAN AFFAIRS AND THE
HEAD OF OUR GOVERNMENT WORKERS UNION IS JERRY WURF.
EACH IS RIGHTLY PROUD OF HIS OFFICE AND THEY JOINTLY
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WOULD NOT WANT CONFUSION AS TO THEIR RESPECTIVE ROLES.

I HAVE LISTENED WITH CLOSE ATTENTION TO THE RE-
MARKS MADE BY THE DELEGATES OF THE SOVIET UNION AND
CZECHOSLOVAKIA. IT SEEMS THAT EVERY TIME I OR A MEM-
BER OF MY DELEGATION SPEAKS IT IS DESCRIBED TO BE A
LECTURE. EVERY TIME THEY SPEAK, ALTHOUGH SOMETIMES
THEY ARE FAR MORE DISCURSIVE THAN I AM, THEIR SPEECHES

ARE NOT SO CHARACTERIZED. SO PERHAPS I'LL CALL THEIR REMARKS SOMETHING ELSE--A DISCURSIVE DISSERTATION.

I WOULD LIKE TO CALL ATTENTION TO THE FACT THAT I DO NOT THINK THAT OUR DIALOGUE IS FURTHERED BY THE USE OF PEJORATIVE ADJECTIVES. IT IS NOT CONDUCIVE TO INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMACY. JUST TO GIVE A FEW EXAMPLES EMPLOYED AT REPETITIVE LENGTH BY THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR: POLITICAL HYPOCRISY, PROPAGANDISTIC APPROACH, CRUDE, PROVOCATIVE, PSEUDO-JURIDICAL. THESE CHARACTERIZATIONS ARE RED HERRINGS DESIGNED TO ESCAPE THE TRUTH OF OUR STATEMENTS.

WE REGARD THE STATEMENT BY THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SOVIET UNION AS A DIVERSIONARY RESPONSE TO OUR STATEMENT MADE ON WEDNESDAY. THIS IS EVIDENT FROM THE PEJORATIVES USED THROUGHOUT, WHICH ARE DESIGNED TO AVOID, RATHER THAN TO RENDER A GENUINE REPLY TO OUR SPECIFIC ILLUSTRATIONS.

MY REMARKS WEDNESDAY WERE DIRECTED TO THE IDEA THAT THE FINAL ACT MANDATES FRANK DISCUSSION OF HUMAN RIGHTS PROGRESS AND SHORTCOMINGS, AND THAT IT IS NOT INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF ANY SIGNATORY COUNTRY.

WE EXPRESS GREAT DISAPPOINTMENT THAT THE SOVIET AND CZECHOSLOVAK DELEGATES DID NOT RESPOND TO THE VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS WHICH WE SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED.

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I HAVE SAID REPEATEDLY IN VARIOUS INTERVENTIONS THAT MY COUNTRY'S RECORD ON HUMAN AND ECONOMIC RIGHTS ISN'T PERFECT. BUT OUR COUNTRY'S RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENT IN BOTH AREAS IS FAR BETTER THAN THE RECORDS OF THE SOVIET AND CZECHOSLOVAK SPEAKERS. I DO NOT PROPOSE TO DELIVER AN ELEMENTARY ECONOMIC, SOCIOLOGICAL OR LEGAL ANALYSIS OF OUR RESPECTIVE SYSTEMS. IT IS WELL KNOWN THROUGHOUT THE WORLD WHAT OUR WORKING CONDITIONS ARE, WHAT OUR STANDARDS OF LIVING ARE, WHAT OUR TRADE UNION RIGHTS ARE. THEY ARE AMONG THE HIGHEST, AND OF THIS WE ARE JUSTLY PROUD. OF PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE IS THAT OUR TRADE UNIONS ARE FREE AND ARE NOT SUBJECT TO GOVERNMENT CONTROLS. CAN THE SAME BE SAID OF THEIRS? THE IRONIC REFERENCE BY THE SOVIET DELEGATE TO GEORGE MEANY'S CRITICISMS OF SOME OF OUR SHORTCOMINGS DEMONSTRATES THAT. WE HAVE REPEATEDLY SAID WE ARE NOT PERFECT. BUT THE PERFECT IS NO ENEMY OF THE GOOD.

ADLAI STEVENSON ONCE SAID TO A POLITICAL OPPONENT, "IF YOU WILL STOP TELLING LIES ABOUT ME, I'LL STOP TELLING THE TRUTH ABOUT YOU." I DIRECT HIS RELEVANT COMMENT TO THE SOVIET AND CZECHOSLOVAK DELEGATES.

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IT IS INTERESTING TO NOTE THAT THE DISTINGUISHED REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SOVIET UNION AND DZECOSLOVAKIA QUOTED AMERICAN SOURCES, OUR PRESS, CONGRESSIONAL REPORTS, COMMENTS BY LABOR LEADERS AND OTHERS, IN WHAT THEY REGARD TO BE CRITICISMS OF OUR POLICY. THIS ILLUSTRATES A CRUCIAL POINT--THAT EVERYONE IN OUR COUNTRY IS FREE TO CRITICIZE OUR DEFICIENCIES WITHOUT BEING SUBJECT TO HARRASSMENT, ARREST, AND IMPRISONMENT FOR DOING SO. WE ARE VERY PROUD OF OUR FREE PRESS, THOUGH PUBLIC OFFICIALS SOMETIMES RESENT THEIR CRITICISM. A GREAT AMERICAN, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, SUMMED UP OUR CONTINUING POLICY IN THIS REGARD. "WE OUGHT TO PREVENT ABUSES OF THE PRESS, BUT TO WHOM DO WE ENTRUST THE POWER TO DO SO?"

IN MY COUNTRY THE RIGHT OF ASSOCIATION IS FULLY PROTECTED. THUS EVERYONE IN THE UNITED STATES IS FREE TO JOIN GROUPS TO MONITOR COMPLIANCE WITH THE FINAL ACT, WITHOUT GOVERNMENTAL INTERFERENCE OR FOR THAT MATTER TO EXPRESS HIS OR HER INDIVIDUAL OPINION. THERE ARE OVER 100 GROUPS IN MY COUNTRY FREELY EXERCISING THEIR MONITORING RIGHTS. I HAVE MET WITH THEM BEFORE AND WILL MEET WITH THEM NEXT WEEK IN WASHINGTON. SOME MAY PRAISE -- SOME MAY CRITICIZE--BUT IT IS
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BASIC TO OUR CONSTITUTIONAL CONCEPTION THAT ALL PUBLIC OFFICIALS ARE SERVANTS OF THE PEOPLE AND NOT THEIR MASTERS. WE ARE STILL AWAITING ACKNOWLEDGEMENT FROM THE SOVIET AND CZECHOSLOVAK PRESS OR THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THEIR GOVERNMENTS THAT THEIR COUNTRIES ARE NOT PERFECT--THAT THEY ARE NOT THE ULTIMATE UTOPIA. IT WOULD BE REFRESHING TO BEAR SUCH AN OBVIOUS TRUTH. JUST YESTERDAY PRESIDENT CARTER FRANKLY STATED THAT OUR SYSTEM IS NOT PERFECT, BUT THAT WE ARE DOING ALL WITHIN OUR POWER TO CORRECT IT.

THE FINAL ACT CALLS FOR THE FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION. THAT IS A GREAT CHARACTERISTIC OF OUR IMPERFECT SOCIETY--THE FREEDOM TO ASSOCIATE AND CRITICIZE AS THE INDIVIDUAL SEES FIT. IT WOULD BE A GIANT STEP TOWARD THE REALIZATION OF THE GOALS OF THE FINAL ACT IF SIMILAR CRITICISM APPEARED IN THE SOVIET AND CZECHOSLOVAK PRESS AND IF MONITORING GROUPS COULD ALSO FREELY CRITICIZE THEIR COUNTRY.

I WANT TO ASSURE THE DISTINGUISHED REPRESENTATIVE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, WHO HAS MADE REFERENCE TO MY PAST ACTIVITIES ON BEHALF OF HUMAN RIGHTS THAT I SHALL CONTINUE BOTH PRIVATELY AND OFFICIALLY TO RAISE MY VOICE AGAINST VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN AND ECONOMIC RIGHTS. IT IS BOTH A PERSONAL MORAL OBLIGATION AND AN OBLIGATION CALLED FOR IN THE FINAL ACT. REFERENCE HAS BEEN MADE TO OUR FAILURE TO RATIFY SEVERAL ILO CONVENTIONS. I PERSONALLY FAVOR THEIR RATIFICATION BUT EVERYONE KNOWS THEY HAVE LONG BEEN A MATTER OF REALITY IN THE UNITED STATES.

I WOULD LIKE TO STATE VERY DIRECTLY THAT IT DOES NOT ADD TO THE LEVEL OF THIS CONFERENCE TO USE WORDS LIKE "WARNING" AS THE DISTINGUISHED AMBASSADOR OF THE SOVIET UNION HAS DONE ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS IN SEEKING TO DISSUADE MY DELEGATION AND OTHERS FROM SPEAKING

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ABOUT THE HUMAN RIGHTS PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT. TO WHAT END IS SUCH AN INFLAMMATORY WORD EMPLOYED? RHETORIC LIKE THIS DOES NOT HELP OUR STRIVING TO PROMOTE GOOD NEIGHBORLY RELATIONS.

AND, FINALLY, REFERENCES WERE MADE TO THE FACT THAT THE UNITED STATES IS NOT SPONSORING ANY RESOLUTIONS. I AM AT A COMPLETE LOSS TO UNDERSTAND THESE STATEMENTS. WE ARE COSPONSORING A WHOLE SERIES OF RESOLUTIONS LEADING TO THE PROMOTION OF DETENTE AND TO INCREASED SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE. THIS REMAINS OUR OBJECTIVE AND WE SHALL CONTINUE AT THIS CONFERENCE TO STRIVE TOWARD THIS GOAL. END TEXT.

GOLDBERG

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